5: Manning S-4 (no date) 1953 RD1 Ukraine RD1

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

The First Occupation of Western Ukraine

After the expulsion of the Soviet Forces from Western Ukraine in 1920, the territory, including Eastern Galicia and Lviv, had remained under Polish rule and had been subjected to a policy of Polonization and colonization by a Polish population. There had been during the period between the wars many clashes and much unpleasantness between the two nationalities and the ill will thus generated promised disastrous consequences for Poland in case of a new war. At the same time the Polish domination had never threatened the fundamental forms of Ukrainian social life, as had been the case in the UkSSR; the Ukrainians had a certain representation in the Polish Parliament, and they had been allowed, despite hindrances, to develop their own economic life. With the possible exception of the one district of Boryslav, there was very little Communism among the population, who were well aware of the handicaps under which their brothers in the UkSSR were living. At the same time the Nazi refusal to support the Republic of Carpatho-Ukraine in the spring of 1939 had placed them on their guard against the Nazis.

Thus, when World War II broke out on September 1, 1939, the revolt of the Ukrainians which many Poles expected did not take place. However, the Polish government in the first days arrested and placed in concentration camps many of the Ukrainian leaders but they were freed by the rapid advance of the German forces and the Polish retreat, which forced into Lviv and the neighborhood many thousands of refugees.

On August 23, 1939, when the Nazis and the Soviets signed a non-aggression treaty, it was provided that if Poland were disintegrated, Germany and the USSR would divide the territory

7:Bregy & Obolensky H-4, 5 (no date) 1940 RD1 Ukraine RD1

of Western Ukraine. On 14 December the Hetman had to flee from his capital, after having proclaimed, in an absolutely Platonic way and without achieving any concrete results, the re-incorporation of the Ukraine in Russia! At the same time the Soviet Government annulled the peace of Brest-Litovsk and began troop movements, invading Northern Ukraine on their part. A third force, the White Volunteer Army and the Don Cossacks, also made their appearance on Ukrainian territory. These three forces fell upon the Ukraine and made her a battle-field.

Supported by the remainders of the Austro-Hungarian troops and supplied with war material abandoned by the retreating invaders, the forces of the Directorate (new name of the Ukrainian Provisional Government) seemed to be beginning to be in a privileged position. But the lack of officers, the bad administrative organization and, above all, the unpopularity of separatist Ukrainian ideas, tended to give success to the side of the Soviets, who were able to take control of the popular insurrectionary movement which had so far been in the hands of Petlioura. Soviet military historians, while recognizing the high qualities of the Russian counter-revolutionary army, note that among all the opponents of the Red Army the troops of the Directorate were distinguished by their low fighting effectiveness. On the other hand the rigid policy of General Denikine, chief of the Volunteer Army, prevented its union with the adherents of Petlioura, so as to form a single front against the Soviets. Thus the White General was fighting on two fronts, in the north against the Soviet troops and in the west against the Ukrainian troops. On their side the Ukrainians fought both against the Whites in the east and against the Reds in the north.

At the beginning of 1919 the Soviet offensive took

7:Bregy & Obolensky H-4, 5 (no date) 1940 RD1 Ukraine RD1

place, which succeeded, towards the end of March of 726
the same year, in clearing the Ukraine of the troops of
the Ukrainian Directorate.

Following closely after the routed Ukrainian troops, the Red Army penetrated into Volynia where it met the Polish troops commanded by General Haller. From the month of July the Soviet Army slowly began to retreat from Polish territory. At the same time, encouraged by the retreat of the Soviet forces, the troops of the 'Western Ukrainian Republic' (Galicia), defeated by the Poles and united with Petlioura, made an incursion into Ukrainian territory. Though not friendly to the Poles, these troops had also no great desire to fight against the Russians, Red or otherwise, but the Directorate of Petlioura, which hoped to obtain a foothold in the Ukraine, ended their indifference by promises and threats.

At the same time the great offensive of Denikine was developing with amazing rapidity. In August Kiev was taken by assault, in the east by the Whites and in the south by the troops of Petlioura. The discussion between the two armies led to nothing and finally the Whites displaced the Ukrainians and pursued them towards the south-east. At the beginning of October 1919 the victory of the Whites seemed more and more probable. General Denikine held Kharkov, Odessa, and Kiev, while Petlioura, under pressure of the Whites, was fighting a retreating action in the direction of Galicia. He hoped for the support of Poland, which cost him his popularity in the eyes of the Ukrainian peasants. The struggles which, in 1919, soaked the 727
Ukraine in blood, crealled the Cossack insurrections of the seventeenth century by their atrocities. Thousands of inhabitants, and especially landowners, Jews, and German colonists, were massacred in a frightful manner

Poles. First the Galician question was raised immediately after the fall of the Habsburg Monarchy (in October 1918). Following the example of all the nationalities which had been a part of it, the Ukrainians of Galicia formed a national council at Lvov, which proclaimed the independence of the Western Ukrainian Republic. After the fall of Skoropadsky this new republic was eager to unite with the Directorate of Petlioura. The Act of Union was proclaimed in January 1919. But the Poles did not think on the same lines. During the same January 1919, Poles and Ukrainians already fought each other furiously in the streets of Lvov. The arrival of the Polish troops of General Haller, formed in France, quickly turned the tide. A regular army of 80,000 men represented a very important force in Eastern Europe where, from the Carpathians to the Pacific, an immense territory was plunged into anarchy. For General Haller there was no question of a Western Ukrainian Republic, but only one of a Little Poland, a simple province of the reborn Great Poland. As we had already seen, the detachments of the Polish Army of Haller threw themselves, in April of the same year, against the vanguards of the Red Army. Recently restored, the Polish State already claimed the frontiers applying before the first partition, that is to say the annexation of White Russia and the Ukraine up to the Dnieper. While the Petliourians, the Reds, and the Whites faced each other on both sides of the Dnieper, the Poles seized the greater part of Volynia and of White Russia and entered Minsk. But the Poles did not seem to exploit their success, most probably in order to give the Red Army the chance to destroy the White Army which, in case of victory, might transform itself into a national Russian Army, dangerous from the point of the territorial pretensions of Great Poland.

tories that had been formerly under Russian and Austrian rule. The Directory of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic issued a special Act on January 22, 1919, in Kiev which declared:

"From this day, the parts of Ukraine — the Western-Ukrainian Democratic Republic, Galicia, Bukovina and Hungarian Ruthenia (Carpatho-Ukraine) and the Great Ukraine on the Dnieper, unite. The ancient hopes which the best sons of Ukraine had lived and died for become reality. From now there is one indivisible independent Ukrainian Democratic Republic".

Relying on this Act, the delegation from Western Ukraine, numbering 65 people, took part in the Congress of Ukraine which had been called to Kiev on January 23, 1919.

The Western-Ukrainian Republic, from the first days of its existence, had to fight in a heavy struggle against the Poles who pretended to rule in Galicia even after the dissolution of Austria. The Poles invaded the Western Ukrainian Republic after having concentrated large forces on this front. The Ukrainian Government asked the Entente Powers and the Paris Peace Conference for mediation in the Polish-Ukrainian war. In February 1919, a Mission of the Peace Conference arrived in Galicia headed by the French General Berthélemy, and with the participation of the representatives of the United States, Great Britain, and Italy. This Mission presented to the Poles and Ukrainians a plan for an armistice on February 28, 1919. According to this plan, until the final decision of the Peace Conference, the territory of Galicia eastwards of the Bug and Stryj Rivers should remain under Ukrainian administration, while the Western part of Galicia should be administered by the Polish authorities. The Galician territory which remained under Ukrainian administration should be recognised by the Big Powers 'de facto' as an independent state, and the Ukrainian Army should be recognised and trained with the assistance of the Entente Powers. The Ukrainian Government did not accept the demarcation line proposed by the Mission of General Berthélemy as unfavourable for Ukraine. In May 1919, a new Mission of the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference arrived in Galicia, headed by General Botha (South Africa). General Botha's Mission altered the previous armistice draft, and the Ukrainian Government agreed to accept it. However, the Poles rejected this plan.

The small country — Ukrainian Galicia — had to strain all her forces in order to hold the front against the whole might of Poland. From Eastern Ukraine Galicia could not receive any considerable help, because the Ukrainian forces had to fight the Skoropadsky

726 régime and were at the same time threatened by the advance of the Russian armies — the 'Red' from the North and the 'White' from the South-East. But the Galician Ukrainians showed even under these unfavourable conditions a considerable talent for organisation, a high level of patriotism and sacrifice. Galician Ukraine weakened by four years of war, isolated from the outside world and alone, could without foreign help, defend herself for more than eight months against an enemy several times stronger (Poland), could organise efficient administration, and secure order and legality on her territory.

The Poles started a new offensive in May 1919 with the forces of General Haller's army which had been organised in France and sent to Poland for the defence against Soviet Russia. The Polish Government used this army against the Ukrainians. Against the fresh Polish forces the Ukrainians with their poor equipment could not stand and had to leave Galicia retreating to Eastern Ukraine.

12. Ukraine in Her Struggle against Soviet Russia in 1919

669 The revolution of the Ukrainian democrats against the Skoro-
726 padsky régime met from the very beginning with the irreconcilable enmity of the Russian Communists. It was well understood in Moscow that the reactionary Skoropadsky régime, in 1918, had weakened the Ukrainian national movement and brought confusion into the masses of the Ukrainian people. It was decided in Moscow to conquer Ukraine once more and for this reason an immense propaganda machine was set going. As soon as the Directory had declared the uprising against Skoropadsky, the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party appointed a 'Provisional Workers' and Peasants 'Government of Ukraine'. This 'Government' had the task of making war against the Ukrainian Democratic Republic. In one of its first acts this 'Ukrainian Government' outlawed the Directory of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic as 'enemies of the people'. Of the five members of this 'Ukrainian Soviet Government' only one, Zatonsky, knew Ukrainian, others were people completely strange to Ukraine.

Against the Soviet Russian troops who invaded Ukraine, the Government of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic fought by military and political means. But the Communists were assisted at that time by the shortsighted policy of the Entente Governments. In December 1918, the French navy landed troops on the shores of the Black Sea to help the army of the Russian Volunteers under General Denikin in the fight for the restoration of 'indivisible Russia'. The appearance of foreign troops in Ukraine caused great

confusion among the masses of the Ukrainian people. The Ukrainians who had overthrown the reactionary Skoropadsky Government installed by the Germans, looked at the French troops with great distrust, for they might renew the rule of the big landowners in Ukraine. In the meantime the policy of the leaders of the French Army in Ukraine was hostile to the Ukrainian Democratic Republic. The attempts of the Ukrainian Government to come to an agreement with the French were fruitless. These negotiations produced only material for Communist propaganda, that the Ukrainian Government 'sold the interests of the Ukrainian nation to the Western imperialists'. The Communist propaganda spread among the Ukrainian Army too. The consequences of this propaganda were disastrous; Ukrainian soldiers deserted the front against the Russian Red Army and some detachments even went over to the side of the Soviet Army. *Thus the French intervention supported only the growth of Communist influence in Ukraine.*

The Government of Ukraine also made attempts to come to an agreement with the Soviet Government. But Moscow remained, as always, hostile to an independent democratic Ukraine and had only one aim — to take possession of the rich Ukrainian territory. The Ukrainian Government, formed in December 1918, was headed by the Social-Democrat Volodymyr Chekhivsky. This Government consisted predominantly of Socialists and had also a representative of the Jewish Social-Democratic Party (Poale-Zion), A. Revutsky, as Minister for the Affairs of the Jewish Minority. All that did not restrain Moscow from calling the Government of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic 'capitalist'.

To the protests of the Ukrainian Government against the attack of the Russian Red Army on Ukraine the Russian Commissar of Foreign Affairs Chicherin replied hypocritically: "The military actions on Ukrainian territory are a matter for the Army of the Directory and the Army of the Ukrainian Soviet Government which is entirely independent."

Against this statement the Directory of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic in its wire of January 9, 1919, declared.

"The Directory sees clearly the aim of the Government of the People's Commissars; it wants to bring Ukraine, rich in grain, coal and other products, with the aid of the 'Bolshevik Soviets', under its rule and turn her into its colony."

Before the advance of the Russian Red Army the Ukrainian Government was forced to leave Kiev, its capital, at the beginning of February 1919. In Vinnitsa the Socialist members of the Directory quitted the Government. The member of the Directory

669 and Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Army, S. Petlura,
726 Social-Democrat, retired from the Party. He was elected President
642 of the Directory in place of Vynnychenko. A Government was formed without the participation of Socialists with Prof. Serhy Ostapenko as Premier. In Ukrainian political circles there was a hope that Ostapenko's 'bourgeois' Government might more easily succeed in coming to an agreement with the French Command in Odessa than a Socialist one. But these hopes failed. The French representatives offered the Ukrainians the choice to become a part of the front of the 'White' Russians against Bolshevism. They refused to discuss the national rights of Ukraine.

The disregard of the Ukrainian national movement revanged itself gravely in the fate of the Franco-Greek troops landing on the coast of the Black Sea. The parts of the Ukrainian Army which had joined the Soviets under the command of Hrihoriev and J. Tyutyunnyk, attacked the Franco-Greek landing forces. These detachments took, on March 1, 1919, Kherson, and on March, 15, Nikolayev, and in the first days of April, Odessa, forcing the French to embark. Thus, because of not fully understanding the Ukrainian problem, the French representatives, through their orientation towards 'White Russia', in spring 1919, helped actually Soviet Russia to occupy Ukrainian territory. By this they strengthened the hopes of the Russian Communists for 'world revolution'. Russian Communists thought that in Ukraine 'the fate of world revolution is being decided'; the title of a book published in 1919 in Moscow was *Where the Fate of World Revolution Is Being Decided.* From Ukraine the Soviet Russian Government planned to send aid through Rumania to the Hungarian Communists, who had proclaimed a Soviet Rupublic in Budapest on 21. 3. 1919. These plans of the Soviet Russian Government failed, for a that very time mass risings and the struggle of the Army of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic stopped the advance of the Soviet Russian troops to the West.

642 The Government of Ostapenko, without the participation of
669 Socialists, called 'Cabinet of Agreement with the Entente', was replaced on April 9, 1919, by a new Government of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic composed of Socialists headed by the Social-Democrat Borys Martos. This Government announced its intention to depend on the own forces of the Ukrainian nation itself. At that time, when the Government of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic remained in the Western provinces of Ukraine (Podolia, Volhynia, Galicia), in Central Ukraine, on the Dnieper River mass uprisings against the Russian Communists developed. Even groups of Ukrai-

669 the 'Government of Soviet Ukraine', gives testimony in a book published in 1920 under the title — *Struggle for the Liberation of the Village:*

From April 1, until May 1, 1919, there had been 93 risings against the Soviet Russian regiment in Ukraine; from May 1, until May 15, — 28 risings; from June 1, until June 19, — 207 revolts.

Thus, instead of a 'march on Europe', the Russian Communist army had to fight stubbornly with the masses of the Ukrainian people for the Ukrainian grain.

"Every Pud (36 lbs.) of the requisitioned grain was sprinkled with drops of blood", the Communist Commissar Schlichter wrote later on his supply activities in Ukraine in 1919. The risings in Ukraine happened under the banner of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic. The Government of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic had permanent contacts with them.

The Army of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic, reorganised on Galician territory, started an offensive against the Communists at the end of May 1919. The Soviet Russian troops pressed by the Ukrainian Army, and under the blows of the Ukrainian partisans, were forced to retreat. Soon the Ukrainian Galician Army joined the fight against the Russian Communists.

14. The Polish Army Occupies Western Ukraine in 1919

●726 The hundred thousand strong Ukrainian Galician Army fought against the forces of the whole of Poland from November 1918, until summer 1919. At the end of May 1919, the Rumanians who had seized Bukovina on November 11, 1918, occupied Southern Galicia. On June 25, 1919, the Supreme Council of the Entente passed the following resolution regarding Galician Ukraine:

"In order to protect the persons and the property of the peaceable population of Eastern Galicia against the dangers it is threatened with by the Bolshevik gangs, the Supreme Council of the Allied and Associated Powers decided to authorise the forces of the Polish Republic to go on in their military operations as far as the Zbrucz River"*).

Under the pressure of the Polish Army several times stronger than the Ukrainians the latter were forced to leave the territory of Galicia and went over on the territory of Eastern Ukraine. The Polish-Ukrainian war ceased, and between the armies of both states a demarcation line was drawn. However, the Polish Government used every opportunity to extend its occupation over other Ukrai-

*) The former Russo-Austrian frontier.

nian territories. This Polish policy held the Ukrainian military forces that were fighting against the Russian Red Army constantly in tension, and hindered the work of the Ukrainian Government. 726

The Ukrainian Galician Army took part in the struggle against the Soviet Russian occupation immediately after the termination of the war with the Poles. The Galician Ukrainians wanted to strengthen the Ukrainian state on the Dnieper, together with the forces of Eastern Ukraine, in order to decide later the historic quarrel for Galicia with Poland.

15. Ukraine between 'Red' and 'White' Russia (1919)

In June 1919, the Ukrainian Government, headed by the Social-Democrat Martos (from August Isaac Mazepa, Social-Democrat, was Prime Minister), took up its residence in Kamenets in Podolia. The united Ukrainian Armies were under the command of General Yunakiw, former Professor of the Military Academy in Petersburg. The Government of Ukraine made efforts to secure legality and order in its territory, particularly it resolutely fought the excesses of various dark elements against the Jewish population. In the Government of theUkrainian Democratic Republic there was a special Minister for the Affairs of the Jewish Minority — Pinkhos Krasny (Jewish People's Party); the deputy Minister of Labour was the Jewish Social-Democrat Prof. Salomon Goldelman. 642 563

The struggle of the Ukrainian nation against Russian Bolshevism as well as the entire Ukrainian problem were in 1919 unknown to the world. Against the Ukrainian liberation movement Communist propaganda was made throughout the world, trying to describe the Ukrainian Democratic Republic as a reactionary state. On the other hand, the propaganda of the Russian 'Whites' and of the Poles permeated decisive political circles abroad resulting in the conviction that the Ukrainian movement was the same as Russian Bolshevism. Therefore the Ukrainian Republic which had led a heroic struggle against Soviet Russia was blockaded by the Western Great Powers as 'infected by Bolshevism'. Because of this blockade the Ukrainian Army was in want of arms, supplies, medicaments. Only by contraband from Rumania was it possible to receive something for the Ukrainian armed forces. Under these circumstances it happened frequently that the Ukrainian Army fought with arms captured on the front from the enemy. But in spite of all these difficulties the united Army of the Ukrainian Republic had considerable successes in the battles with the Soviet Russian troops and, on August 31, 1919, took Kiev, the capital of 669 [705]

though this population had accepted in a friendly manner the Soviet rule, hoping for an improvement of their situation. When Rumania in alliance with Germany joined the war against USSR in 1941, the Rumanian authorities on their part terrorised the Ukrainian population of Bukovina and Bessarabia. At the end of the war Bukovina and Bessarabia were joined with USSR again. The Communist terror turned with even greater vehemence against the Ukrainians there. Especially from Bukovina a great part of the Ukrainian population had been deported into the Eastern regions of the USSR. The cities were filled with foreign elements, colonists from Russia were brought into the villages.

3. The Ukrainians in Czechoslovakia (Carpatho-Ukraine)

After 1919 Carpatho-Ukraine, which had been for centuries under Hungarian rule, was attached to Czechoslovakia. The Ukrainian population of this country consists mostly of peasants. The towns had a Jewish and Hungarian population. The Czech authorities in Carpatho-Ukraine (official name Carpatho-Ruthenia) favoured for some time the development of Ukrainian schools. But from 1925 the Prague Government began to support the Russophile group that despised the Ukrainian language as 'peasant' and used a strange mixture of the Church-Slavonic, Ukrainian, and Russian languages. In reality, these 'Russophiles' were adherents of Hungary and received support from Budapost too. The entire administration in Carpatho-Ukraine came into the hands of the Czech bureaucracy. According to the Treaty of Saint Germain, Carpatho-Ukraine was guaranteed autonomy inside the boundaries of CSR, but the Czechoslovakian Government permanently deferred its realisation.

At the end of 1938 Germany launched strong pressure against Czechoslovakia exploiting the national problem of this country, (Sudeten Germans, Slovaks, Hungarians, Ukrainians). The Prague Government changed the centralistic Constitution to a federative one. For the Carpathian Ukraine the Prague Government recognised an autonomous statute with a separate Diet and Government. Against this the neighbour states — Hungary and Poland — reacted vehemently. In February 1939, the elections to the Diet of Carpatho-Ukraine took place. After the separation of Slovakia from Bohemia the Diet of Carpatho-Ukraine proclaimed the independence of this country (March 16, 1939). But with Hitler's and Mussolini's consent the Hungarian troops occupied Carpatho-Ukraine after stubborn fighting against the Ukrainian volunteers.

as its center. It dealt heavy blows to the Polish-Lithuanian state in the middle of the seventeenth century. The arrows leading from Bazadenk to Lwów point out the direction taken by the army of Hetman Bogdan Chmielnicki to Poland./ /Key inside map: ⸗·⸗·⸗ National boundaries. ---- Provincial boundaries. ++++ Western boundaries of the Ukrainian voivodeships in Poland. ←←← Campaign of Bogdan Chmielnicki against Poland in the year 1648. ◈ Cossack regimental command. * Seat of the military order "sech".

/57/ In the "Death Quadrangle"

"In a piercing, frosty north wind" on November 16, 1919 there marched passed each other in 'the quadrangle of death, silently, without a military salute, the fragmentary, wretched, barefoot detachments of the West Ukrainian supporting troops and the likewise fragmentary, wretched, barefoot East Ukrainian front-rank troops. The former were going east into the East Podolian area of concentration where the remnants of the West Ukrainian army were to capitulate before the 'Pan-Russians'; the others were going west to Central Volhynia where they were to surrender to the Poles. Both left behind the same landmarks along their way: frozen corpses in the ditches." (39) This was the

39. Kuchabskyj: Western Ukraine in the Struggle with Poland and Bolshevism in the Years 1918 to 1923, page 389.

funeral march of the last soldiers of the West Ukrainian People's Republic and the Ukrainian People's Republic.

The episode of the new Ukrainian statehood began with the March Revolution in Russia in 1917. On March 22, 1917, a few days after the revolution in Moscow, the "Ukrainian Central Council" was formed in Kiyev, consisting of representatives of

648 Ukraine for the Muscovite realm, strained every
175 effort to fight for the country. The Pan-Russian counter-revolutionary armies also proved themselves opponents not to be underestimated. "The campaigns of Denikin, Kolchak, Iudenich and other Russian generals clearly proved that there were only two forces fighting in the Russian civil war: the old Czarist absolutism against the new Bolshevik despotism. And both of them fought with equal ferocity against the Ukraine." (41)

41. Danko: The Nation in Soviet Chains, page 25.

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• 726 A surprise attack of the Ukrainian troops
175 on Lwów set off the Polish-West Ukrainian War. For weeks wild fighting raged in the streets of the city; finally the Poles succeeded in bringing in troops and forcing the Ukrainians out of Lwów during the night of November 22, 1918. The victors exercised bloody reprisals on the Ukrainian population; they destroyed Ukrainian property and dragged many respected citizens into concentration camps from which they were never to return. The Jews expiated for their neutrality with a three-day pogrom, during which whole blocks of houses went up in flames.

[631] After the loss of Lwów, the West Ukrainian
642 state included about 40,000 square kilometers with
648 four million /64/ inhabitants, among them three
726 million Ukrainians. To destroy this dwarf state
175 was the firm intention of the leaders of the Polish state of eighteen million. The Ukrainian government now had its seat at Stanislawów; Dr. Ievgen Petrushevych was the head of the state. He and many other men who were responsible for the fate of West Ukraine still regarded it as "an incident, a misunderstanding, an error" that there was any fighting at all between Poles and Ukrainians. Heedless of the front which was expanding day by

642 day and of the increasingly bloody battles, they
649 abandoned themselves to the illusion that these
726 misunderstandings would merely have to be cleared
175 up and all would be well. They believed that patience was required until the Allies carried out the right of self-government for which the Ukrainians alone were obliged to fight with weapons. "The fact that individual destinies must be determined by the will of the individual - such points of view which are so familiar to conquering nations, were completely foreign to the 'Ukrainian National Council', all the more since there was not a single, in any way outstanding, personality in leading political circles, who would have been capable in a critical situation to grasp the reins and direct events." (42)

42. Kuchabskyj: West Ukraine in the Struggle with Poland and Bolshevism, page 52.

175 The war which at the beginning was carried
726 on with a few thousand men on both sides was in full force by the end of December. At this time the Ukrainians successfully mobilized their fighting manpower up to 35 years of age. Then, however, they made the mistake of abandoning warfare in the open country and of leaving the initiative to the Poles who, in keeping with their reckless methods, made use of it. In spite of the fact that the Ukrainian front which ran northward from the Carpathians presented considerable deficiencies along its approximately 250-kilometer length, that the battalions, for example, were strung together loosely and without a unified supreme command, nevertheless the Polish troops which arrived from mid-January on suffered heavy defeats. Thus Gen-
000 eral Romer /Facing page 64/ /Above: A typical Ukrainian church made of wood, in the Carpathians. Below: Ukrainian peasant woman baking bread./1 /Facing page 65/ /The Ukrainian landscape is full

1 [This plate not processed for files — Analyst]

000 of unique charm. - In spite of their poverty, Ukrainian peasants keep their loam huts clean./1
•726 /65/ along with 5000 men was defeated and shortly
175 thereafter other Polish detachments north of Lwów were destroyed.

And now the Ukrainians fell into a situation which was somehow reminiscent of the siege of Lwów by hetman Chmielnicki in 1648. It was again Lwów that was besieged and cut off from the rest of the world. The city seemed hopelessly lost, there was even no water. At this point when the war was developing favorably for the Ukrainians and when it could only be a few days before Lwów fell into their hands as a trump which might even overtrump the Western Powers, they ceased hostilities as a result of the promises of a French military mission. "...If, in turn, you accept our proposal we shall take steps toward the recognition of your sovereignty...". But the peace terms of the French General Berthelemy seemed so severe to the Ukrainians that after three days they resumed the fight. The brief pause sufficed for the Poles to recover. Morale in the Ukrainian army was also no longer of the best after the prospects of peace had been shattered. The soldiers lived through a severe winter. Some of them were in need of coats, and even more, or a corps of officers which might have served as a moral support to them during the long months of life in the trenches. Five hundred soldiers and one officer! That represents a catastrophic dearth of officers. Gangs of East Ukrainian peasants sent to help, caused mutiny and plunder so that they were decimated and sent back over the border.

To what extent the Ukrainian general staff had already lost the leadership of its troops was proved by the vote which it took among the individual battalions upon the armistice command of the Entente of March 19, 1919. Whereas the Ukrainian army, in response to it, declared itself

1[For plate, see p. 219, category 116 - Analyst]

for the armistice, the Poles who started a general offensive on March eighteenth, paid no attention to the wishes of their allies /66/ in Paris. On the contrary, without running up against any opposition worth mentioning, they built up a favorable starting point for a new offensive, extending from the Carpathians to Volhynia. General Haller worked out the plans, unconcerned over the fact that the Supreme Council in Paris was already preparing the armistice terms. For the Council attached importance to a rapid ending of hostilities in order that Bolshevik Moscow may be all the more rapidly and positively destroyed. Polish attacks on the first and second Ukrainian army corps announced the impending catastrophe. The Ukrainian soldiers were tired of war; they marauded, mutinied, plundered, left the trenches and simply went home. No wonderthat the two army corps were defeated in "wildest flight". At this point General Haller prepared for what he considered would be the mortal blow. The disintegrated Ukrainian front was faced with nine Polish infantry divisions, among them two Haller divisions equipped in the best possible manner by the French. In most cases the Poles stormed empty ditches and deserted villages; occasionally they broke up local resistance. The defeat of the Ukrainians was complete. 1260 175

At this moment, slowly, guardedly, two Rumanian divisions pushed across the crests of the Carpathians into southeastern Galicia and captured the only infantry supply base still left the Ukrainians.

The remnants of the exhausted West Ukrainian army marched eastward with its baggage and accompanied by fleeing civilians toward an unknown destination, while in East Ukraine Bolsheviks drove the remnants of the East Ukrainian army westward. Ievgen Petrushevych rose up to become dictator of his wandering West Ukrainian state.

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Another page was turned. General Haller was obliged to throw his divisions onto the western frontier of Poland. The Treaty of Versailles was to be signed. No /67/ one knows whether the Germans may not refuse to sign, ally themselves with the Bolsheviks and enter a desperate struggle.

It does not seem impossible that a surprise attack of the Ukrainians may be successful. Petrushevych named the Russian General A. Grekov, who had staked everything on the Ukraine, supreme commander of the West Ukrainian forces. He is the author of the plans for an offensive which, under his name, was to enter Ukrainian military history as one of the most daring deeds.

In the early morning of June 8, 1919 the Ukrainians began the assault on the town of Chortkov which had been captured a few days before by the Poles. "The effect of this advance was baffling. Several Polish battalions who were defending the town dispersed and took to wildest flight. Almost the entire enemy artillery of this division, all their baggage and several hundred prisoners fell into the hands of West Ukrainians. In the market-place of the town a national parade of the Polish inhabitants of the entire countryside had just gathered in order to celebrate the 'burial of the Ukraine'. The fleeing soldiers fell upon this crowd: 'Run! The Ukrainians are already here!' - and the entire festively-clothed multitude fled with the troops, just as they were, abandoning everything. Then something improbable happened to the Ukrainians under General Grekov when the news of the battle of Chortkov reached them. On the entire West Ukrainian front of 35 kilometers the 8000 men whom West Ukrainians engaged in combat pushed forward, and there followed a sudden, positively miraculous transformation in the attitude of the entire nation. Suddenly they became aware that they were being led, that they were being

ommanded by a real general. The soldier who 726
only yesterday was unable to halt an enemy advance 703
now dashed ahead recklessly. The divisions which 175
throughout the war did not know how to cooperate with their neighbors /68/ now functioned with a baffling tactical assurance. They attacked, they pushed through, they rolled up enemy flanks, they pursued, they marched into the roar of enemy guns to help their neighbor to victory. The higher staff officers who up to that time had known nothing but caution, suddenly learned how to seek out the enemy, to find him, to attack, to pursue, to break into the enemy's rear. The ones who only yesterday were deserting, those who were barely able to carry arms, young and old, all now joined the advancing West Ukrainian troops. A crowd marched into a village, only to leave it as a company." (43)

43. Kuchabskyj: Western Ukraine in the Struggle with Poland and Bolshevism, page 302.

From the beginning an extreme shortage of 175
infantry munitions imperiled these brilliant 726
victories of West Ukrainia. There were only enough weapons to equip a bare 20,000 men. On June ninth and tenth the Ukrainians overran two Polish divisions who fled in wild panic along with all the inhabitants. Ten days later they put to flight five divisions, and on June 27 a new Polish line of resistance became shaky. It, too, was destroyed. Nevertheless, the Ukrainians did not succeed in capturing the badly needed arms and munitions. At last, only two days' march from Lwów the offensive was halted. New Polish divisions were thrown in and Pilsudski himself, who had previously already taken over the supreme command but had been unable to avoid the last breakthrough, now gave the command for a counter-offensive...In its extremity Poland mobilized the

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175 Supreme Council in Paris which on June 25 already drew up the following decision which was to be communicated to West Ukrainia: "In order to protect life and property of the peaceable inhabitants of East Galicia from the dangers which threaten them at the hands of the Bolshevik mobs, the 'Supreme Council' ...has resolved to empower the forces of the Polish Republic to carry on their operations as far as the Sbrucz River."

With new, completely equipped divisions the /69/ Poles began their offensive on June 28, 1919, exactly half an hour before General Grekov also ordered a new attack. The proportion of forces was too unequal, a Ukrainian victory became impossible. The Ukrainian army retreated amid constant counterattacks. Various positions could not be defended at all, because whole divisions had not a single cartridge. Thus the Ukrainians reached the river which forms the boundary between Galicia and East Ukraine. "A giant baggage train dragging the entire supplies of the army into the uncertain future, columns of civilian refugees, more than a hundred thousand people, left their homes. Among them was an army of over 60,000 men comprising the quartermaster corps, over 20,000 of these fighting forces." On July 16 the rear guard crossed the Sbrucz.

An eyewitness dramatically described the end of the Polish-West Ukrainian War: "These were dreadful days! From one side came Poles, from the other Bolsheviks. The territory of both Ukrainian states now comprised only a narrow strip along the bank of the Sbrucz River. In this area could be heard the booming of guns from the east and the west...Endless files of West Ukrainian army service corps marched past...From afar cannon boomed: this was the West Ukrainian artillery which held off the Polish attack with greatest bravery to give the service corps time

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175 to retreat with the sick and wounded and with the supplies. There was still some ammunition for the cannons, the foot soldiers had none left.The latter helped their artillery wherever they could hold off the Poles with blank weapons, and they defended with their bodies the last fields of their West Ukrainian homeland." (44)

44. Kuchabskyj: Western Ukraine in the Struggle with Poland and Bolshevism, page 319.

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175 The same tragedy accompanied the battles of the East Ukrainians. Shortly after the summons of the Directorate which was secretly elected by the "Ukrainian National League" and was headed /70/ by the writer Volodimir Vynnychenko and the former bank official and journalist Simon Petliura, the army of the Directorate marched from Bila Cerkva to Kiyev. It consisted of 4 companies of infantry, 1 battery of field guns, 12 heavy machine guns and half a squadron of cavalry. Hetman Skoropadskyj threw all the forces he could spare at that moment into the troops of the Directorate: 3 battalions of infantry. At Fastiv, not far from Kiyev, the sech sharpshooters of the Directorate, after a heroic struggle, turned the tide of the battle in which a battalion of Russian officers was annihilated up to the last man, in their favor. "The effect of the battle was tremendous. With one blow, as though suddenly paralyzed, the counterrevolution in the Ukraine, specifically in Kiyev, gave itself up as lost. On the other hand, the entire East Ukraine arose at the first report of this victory as though at a magic word. Hundreds of thousands of peasants from all over stormed the cities and towns. The entire East Ukraine resembled a storm-lashed ocean." (45)

45. Kuchabskyj: Western Ukraine in the Struggle with Poland and Bolshevism, page 109.

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175 /75/ After its withdrawal from East Galicia,
● 726 the West Ukrainian army joined the remnants of the army of the Directorate. "Quadrangle of death", this is the name given to the region between the Polish border and Kiyev and southward toward the Dniestr. There was no longer any escape for the Ukrainians; they were encircled by enemies from whom they either became isolated, as from the Rumanians in the southwest and the Poles in the west, or else are engaged in combat as by the Bolsheviks and the all-Russian, counterrevolutionary Denikin army. In spite of the union of West and East Ukraine on January 22, 1919, the West and East Ukrainian ministers rule side by side wherever the "capital" happens to be. Petrushevych still believed in the necessity of an independent West Ukrainian government. He was convinced that the Entente will surely give authority to such a government upon the expected rebirth of the West Ukrainian People's Republic. The dictator was possessed "of that firmness which is commonly called character". As though the supreme council of war had not already on June 25, 1919, when Grekov's victorious troops were still standing at the gates of Lwów, pronounced the death sentence over West Ukraine! Dmovskij remained the victor. The Ukrainian peace delegation whose members were at variance with one another, and who had even had difficulty entering the country, had been given no opportunity whatsoever to speak. Other peoples were given to states in which they never grew up; the Ukrainians were strangled in the midst of the fight for their state.

After the various divisions of their armies were united, the dictators Petliura and Petrushevych decided on an offensive against Kiyev. Once again with their fight for the capital of the country,

175 they wished to prove to all the world the Ukrain-
● 176 ian will for independence. By the middle of July 1919, one month after the tragic crossing of the Sbrucz, the entire country between the Pripyat swamps in the north almost to Odessa in the south, from Sbrucz halfway to Kiyev, was conquered, and the outlines of the "quadrangle of death" pushed forward and extended. /76/ The influx of volunteers and rich spoils made possible the establishment of an army of 100,000 men with whom the assault on Kiyev could most probably be risked.

Once again Petliura tried to lead his strange form of a state out of its dreadful isolation. He offered to cover the flanks of the army of Denikin, the all-Russian counterrevolutionist. The general whom England supported in return for the tacit surrender of the oil fields of Baku, had just begun an impetuous course of victory which was to lead his armies made up primarily of Ukrainian Kuban Cossacks and Russian-Ukrainian Don Cossacks, east of the Dniepr to Moscow. Bolshevik rule seemed to be nearing its end. Supported by America and Japan because of prospects of concessions, Admiral Kolchak was fighting in Siberia against Lenin's troops. The nucleus of Kolchak's army consisted of the Czech Legion. North of the Arctic Ocean, with Archangel as the port of embarkation, English, Americans and Italians under the leadership of General Gurko threatened the Bolshevik state which was being attacked from Esthonia by the army of intervention under General Iudenich. - No, Denikin with his 200,000 victorious soldiers did not need to have his flanks protected by the Ukrainian separatist and rebel leader! Denikin instructed General Bredov to push on toward Kiyev in forced marches. Meanwhile Petliura pushed ahead a part of his now quite respectable army against the Fourteenth Army Corps of the Bolsheviks concentrated north of Odessa and

threatened - what a chaos! - in the east simultaneously by Denikin and by rebellious peasants. On this occasion the Ukrainians destroyed one Bolshevik division completely. Their offensive against Kiyev also hit the mark; the capital was occupied during the night of August 31, 1919 by the Ukrainian armies.

In a state of mad delusion Denikin, on the following day, snatched /77/ Kiyev from the Ukrainians who in their hatred of Bolshevism were certainly a match for the all-Russian reactionary general. What a fateful day! From the east Denikin's troops caught the guards on the Dniepr bridge unawares and entered the city when the Ukrainians were just making their solemn entry. With the salvos which were breaking in the midst of the parade of the unsuspecting victors, a simply grotesque battle began. The war which Petliura always wanted to avoid, broke out. Lenin can triumph - he got a breather while his enemies were murdering each other, and he threw the forces that were relased in this way into the front, which was most seriously threatened. The crime of the reactionary was punished on the spot. His victorious troops advanced to within 300 miles of Moscow when the Bolshevik Cavalry General Budienny attacked them and literally ran them down. The catastrophe which thus broke over the proud general and his world was crushing. Budienny destroyed corps after corps of the Denikin army, whose chaotically retreating soldiers, moreover, perished in the deluge of a wild peasant insurrection.

The physical and spiritual resistance of the Ukrainians was broken by the cowardly attack on Kiyev. Upon the ranks of discouraged and despairing soldiers who retreated into the "quadrangle of death" there descended a new enemy: spotted typhus. Without food, without underwear, without shoes, without clothing, without sanitary supplies, without weapons, without medicine - the Entente had forbidden the importation of drugs - they

175 726 dragged themselves away from the pursuing enemy. Whither? No one could answer this question. "In the railroad stations along the front hundreds of Ukrainian soldiers lay dying, without any kind of human help; and hundreds marched and fought while they were infected and broke down in the camps." By the end of October 1919, the two armies numbered 6000 men, of which 4000 were West Ukrainians. They were concentrated in the region of Kamenets in Podolia. /78/

The end was ghastly, like a vision of inferno. The "scourge of God", typhus, also lashed down upon the troops of Denikin which, exhausted by the epidemic and discouraged by the defeat at the hands of Budienny, had gathered together southeast of the remnants of the Ukrainian army. "Then suddenly the phantom of the 'all-Russian' counter-revolution loomed up: ruins of Denikin's army ignored the West Ukrainian frontal troops and everywhere pushed on only against the East Ukrainian divisions, in order to wreak revenge on the East Ukrainians at the last minute, before the victorious Bolshevism was to banish to the grave that 'all-Russian' ghost. This 'assault' of a few hundred pestilence-stricken 'all-Russians" against an equally few pestilence-stricken East Ukrainians was horrible. Everywhere the wreckage consisting of East Ukrainians surrendered, almost without a struggle, just as the 'all-Russians', who were in a state of even greater disintegration than the East Ukrainians, would surely have surrendered if it had occurred to the East Ukrainians to storm their positions."

In this way the Greater Ukrainian state perished. "In a piercing, frosty northwind there marched in the 'quadrangle of death', silently..."

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After the victory of the Bolsheviks over their

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enemies Warsaw trembled at the thought of the moment when the Muscovites would begin their assault on young Poland in order to take it back into the folds of "indivisible Russia". Pilsudski awaited the attack which he would have liked to forestall, in the spring of 1920. For this preventive war Petliura, with the remnants of the East Ukrainian army which were sitting in concentration camps - the remnants of the West Ukrainian army put themselves under Bolshevik protection and were in part fighting on that side against the Poles, - is just good enough. With blissful confidence the head of the erstwhile Ukrainian People's Republic signed an alliance with the Poles. Petliura renounced /79/ West Ukraine, although it was precisely the West Ukrainians with their undeniable talent for organization and their picked troops who had made possible for him the unprecedented fight for freedom. In return the Poles promised him the formation of a new East Ukrainian state under their patronage. On April 17, 1920 Pilsudski's divisions and the faithful followers of Petliura set out for the east, and, as a matter of fact, they reached Kiyev. Petliura's troops were the bait with which they endeavored to catch the West Ukrainians fighting on the side of the Bolsheviks; they actually succeeded in catching them. A large number of West Ukrainians who had become Bolsheviks went over to the Poles and were disarmed. The Bolsheviks took this occasion to shoot the officers of the Ukrainian divisions that have remained faithful to them.

Polish rule in Kiyev lasted only five weeks, until June eleventh. Then Budienny followed close on the heels of the Poles, as he did previously on Denikin's troops. The honor of covering the headless retreat of the Poles with Ukrainian blood fell on Petliura. The elite of the French general staff finally halted the Russians not far from Warsaw, and then caused them to retreat. The

175 "miracle on the Vistula" took place: the Bol-
726 sheviks turned around and halted beyond the Sbrucz.

175 At the peace negotiations in Riga the part-
726 ners of Andrusov met after two and a half cent-
728 uries for a partition of the Ukraine. The Russians conceded the Poles the western parts of Polesia, Volhynia and Podolia, Lublin and Podlakhia in the Riga Treaty of March 18, 1921. The protest of Petliura who was not admitted to the negotiations remained unheard. Was it blind hatred of the Bolsheviks, a commission of the Poles or burning patriotism, which, after this bitter disappointment, again drove him across the borders with a small band of followers? Whatever it is, the guerilla war which the ex-dictator unleashes in East Ukraine does not change anything in his country's fate, which was definitively sealed at Riga. /80/

175 Driven out of his home for the last time and
726 again disarmed by the Poles, he was nevertheless permitted to kindle rebellions in East Ukraine from within the Polish state. If the East Ukrainians bled to death and the Bolsheviks had internal difficulties, this could only please Warsaw. When the Bolsheviks finally cruelly quelled these uprisings - according to accounts in the Communist of February 23, 1923, 6000 groups of rebels were discovered and destroyed in 1921 -, Petliura, the ally of Pilsudski at the conquest of Kiyev, was now merely a troublesome foreigner in Poland. As such he was banished. /Facing page
728 80/ /Map V: The Ukraine Before the First World
631 War (1914). At the end of the eighteenth century the Polish-Lithuanian Kingdom disintegrated. From that time on the main part of the Ukraine belonged to the Czar's realm. Parts of West Ukraine in so-called East Galicia and Bukovina, along with Chernovtsy went to Austria, Ukrainian territory in the Carpathians to Hungary./ /Key inside map: -.-.-. National boundaries. ...Provincial boundar-

162 cent. of the total, as compared with 32.8 per cent. for the entire Soviet Union. Next to the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Ukraine has a higher percentage of urban population than any other Union Republic.

The German-Soviet War

726 On June 22, 1941, the German armies, supported by their satellites, including the Rumanians and the Hungarians, attacked the Soviet Union on a 1,500 mile front from the Arctic Ocean to the Black Sea. Nearly six weeks later the Germans started their main thrust against Kiev, the capital of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic; on September 21, after a fierce struggle, the Soviet troops evacuated the city. It was another two months before the Germans reached Kharkov and Rostov.

727 725 For the second time in this century the Ukraine was subjected to occupation and devastation by the Germans. However, the Soviet policy of scorching the earth in retreat had aggravated normal military destruction; and in addition, the Ukrainians conducted heroic guerilla warfare against the enemy occupation forces. As a result, the Germans found the fruits of conquest "rather disappointing"[1] For example, in the Ukraine it was possible in the autumn of 1941 to carry out only a small fraction of the average sowing. In the western part of the Ukraine, very few industrial plants remained intact; the Nikolayev naval yards, the Dnieper dam and power station, and the metallurgical plants of the Dniepropetrovsk district were all either crippled or destroyed.

726 The German occupation of the Ukraine lasted nearly three and a half years. The Soviet victory at Stalingrad early in 1943 was the turning point of the war and the beginning of the big Soviet offensives.

In the winter campaign of 1943-44 the Soviet troops won important victories in the Ukraine west of the Dnieper, completed the liberation of the Kiev, Dniepropetrovsk, Zaporozhie and Zhitomir regions and almost the whole of the Rovno and Kirovograd regions, as well as of a number of districts in other areas.[2] In April and May 1944 they liberated Odessa, and in August, Western Ukraine. The liberation of the whole Ukraine was completed by November 1944.

727 The years of hard fighting took a very heavy toll all along the western front of the Soviet Union. The Ukrainian S.S.R. sustained enormous losses.

War Losses of Population

At the Kiev trial of German war criminals in January 1946 it was disclosed that more than four million Soviet citizens had been murdered

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1 The Russian Campaigns of 1941-43, W.E.D. Allen and Paul Muratoff, Penguin Books, London, 1944.

2 Soviet War News, London, February 24, 1944.